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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGRO PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IN MISSOURI¹

THE PERIOD FROM 1865 TO 1875

On Tuesday, the eleventh day of January, 1865, the Negro of Missouri awoke a slave; that night he retired a

¹ This dissertation was in 1917 submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature of the University of Chicago, in candidacy for the degree of Master of Arts by Henry S. Williams.

The following original sources were used in the preparation of this manuscript: *Reports of Superintendent of the Public Schools of the State of Missouri*, 1866-1917; *Session Laws of the State of Missouri*, 1866-1913; *Reports of the U. S. Commissioner of Education*, 1870-1916; *U. S. Census Reports*, 1860-1910; *The Missouri Republican*, 1866-1870; *Journal of Education*, Vols. I and II (St. Louis, Missouri, 1879); *Revised Statutes of Missouri*, 1879-1909; *Proceedings and Occasional Papers of the Slater Fund* (Baltimore, Maryland); *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vols. II and III; Asa E. Martin, *Our Negro Population* (Kansas City, Missouri, 1913); N. H. Parker, *Missouri as it is in 1867* (Philadelphia, 1867); *Am. Annual Cyclopedia*, 1870-1877; *Annual Reports of the Board of Education of St. Louis*, 1867-1916; *Annual Reports of the Board of Education, of Kansas City*, 1870-1915.

The secondary sources consulted follow: Lucian Carr, *American Commonwealths, Missouri a Bone of Contention* (Boston, 1894); C. R. Barnes, *Switzer's Illustrated History of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1889); W. B. Davis, and D. S. Durrie, *An Illustrated History of Missouri* (Cincinnati, Ohio); S. B. Harding, *Life of George B. Smith* (Sedalia, Missouri, 1904); W. E. B. DuBois, *The Negro Common School* (Atlanta, Georgia); C. L. Butt, *History of Buchanan County* (Chicago, 1915); H. A. Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865* (Baltimore, Maryland, 1914); C. G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, (New York, 1915); *History of Calloway County* (St. Louis, 1884); *History of Cole, Moniteau, Morgan, Benton, Miller, Maries, and Orange Counties*,

free man.² His darkest hour had passed but before him loomed a great task, that of living up to the requirements of a man. His emancipators were confronted with the responsibility of preparing him for his new duties and for the proper use of suffrage which was to be granted him a few years later.

Prior to 1865 the State had seen fit to prohibit the education³ of the slave because, although the educated slave was the more efficient, yet he was the more dangerous; as his training might aid him to make a better revolt against his position. But the qualities which were objectionable in the slave were necessary to the freed man, if he was to prove other than a menace to the State. His emancipators faced the education of the Negro fairly, and the same convention which had passed the Emancipation Act of 1865, drew up a new State constitution which was ratified the same year. This constitution⁴ provided for the establishment and the maintenance of free public schools for the instruction of all persons in the State who were between the ages of five and twenty-one. It further provided that all funds for the support of the public schools should be appropriated in proportion to the number of children without regard to color.

The legislature, which met the same year, passed a law⁵ which required that the township boards of education, and those in charge of the educational affairs in the cities and the incorporated villages of the State should establish and maintain one or more separate schools for the colored children of school age within their respective jurisdictions, provided the number of such children should exceed twenty.

Missouri (Chicago, 1889); J. T. Shaff, *History of St. Louis City and County* (Philadelphia, 1885); R. A. Campbell, *Campbell's Gazetteer of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1875); *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis* (New York, 1889); *Missouri Historical Review*, Vols. I, II, IV, VI, VII, and IX (Columbia, Missouri); *The Negro Year Book* (Tuskegee, Alabama, 1917).

² Parker, N. H., *Missouri as it is in 1867*, p. 424.

³ Woodson, C. G., *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, p. 159-168.

⁴ *Missouri State Convention of 1865*, Art. IX.

⁵ *Laws of State of Missouri*, Adjourned Session 23d General Assembly, p. 177.

Persons over twenty-one were to be admitted to these schools. The same officers who were in charge of the educational interests of the white schools were to control the Negro schools. The length of the term and the other advantages to be enjoyed by these schools were to be the same as those enjoyed by the white schools of the same grade. This law further provided that if the average attendance for any month should drop below twelve the school might be closed for a period not to exceed six months. In districts where there were less than twenty Negro children, the money raised for their education was to be reserved by the boards of education in those districts and to be appropriated as the boards saw fit for the education of the Negro children upon whom the money had been raised. The same legislature⁶ passed an act authorizing towns, cities, and villages to organize for school purposes with special privileges. This act, however, provided that any town, city or village so incorporated should be required to establish one or more Negro schools according to the law. At this session of the legislature⁷ there was enacted a law to compel the school authorities in each sub-district to prepare a school census of their respective jurisdictions which should enumerate separately and according to sex the white and the Negro children who were permanently resident within the sub-district. In case the directors failed to perform this duty the township clerk was to have the census taken and to recover from the directors by judicial proceedings the cost of the work.

If we were to judge from the constitutional and the statutory laws of this period, we might conclude that the education of the Negro was very popular and that his needs were well taken care of. But before we can draw any conclusion we must study certain conditions. We must know something of the character of the men who were to enforce the law, of the desire of the Negroes for an education, of

⁶ *Laws of the State of Missouri, op. cit.*, p. 191.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

popular opinion concerning public education, and of the distribution of the Negro population.

The State Superintendents of this period were well trained men,⁸ and their reports show that they were faithful in the discharge of their duty. One of these superintendents, John Monteith,⁹ showed great zeal in the establishment and development of the Negro school system. He was born in the Western Reserve district of Ohio, a section noted for its strong anti-slavery sentiment. He belonged to a family of educators. His father was one of the first presidents of the University of Michigan. Monteith completed his education at Yale and served for a number of years as a minister in St. Louis. Upon becoming State Superintendent, he wrote in favor of Negro education a pamphlet which he sent to each of the county superintendents. His annual reports,¹⁰ to which we shall refer later, show the interest and the effort which this man put forth to develop the Negro schools of the State.

The Negroes were not indifferent to the efforts which were put forth in their behalf. There is much evidence to show that they took an active part in the establishment¹¹ and the maintenance of schools for their children. In those districts in which Negro schools were maintained and an honest effort was made to better the conditions of the Negroes, they responded heartily to their opportunities. The following quotations are typical of the reports which the superintendents in those counties were able to make in 1874: "In most of the townships a commendable interest is manifested in the support of Negro schools, which I am happy to report, is appreciated by the Negroes¹² themselves. The schools have been well attended with considerable diligence manifested by the pupils." A. A. Neal, Superintendent of

⁸ Ira Divoll, see Schaff, *Hist. of City and County of St. Louis*, Vol. I, p. 843; R. D. Shannon, see Davis, W. B., *Ill. Hist. of Mo.*, p. 587.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 550.

¹⁰ *Ann. Reports of Supt. of Pub. Schools, 1871-'72-'73-'74.*

¹¹ *8th Ann. Report of Supt. of Pub. Schools, 1874*, p. 37.

¹² *7th Ann. Report of Supt. of Pub. Schools, 1873*, p. 250.

Pettis County, reported:¹³ "The Negro schools are doing better than could be expected under existing circumstances." The Superintendent of Ray County said:¹⁴ "The Negro schools have been well attended. The pupils have manifested great enthusiasm, and have made surprising advancement in the rudiments." *The Journal of Education*¹⁵ which was printed in St. Louis, by J. B. Merwin in 1869, states: "It is a well known fact that our Negro population manifests the greatest zeal in taking advantage of every opportunity for acquiring education."

At the beginning of this period, popular opinion concerning free public schools in general and Negro schools in particular was not favorable. The school laws of the State were in advance of the people. These laws¹⁶ were the product of a few statesmen who appeared at intervals, and who, in spite of well known social protests, pushed forward with great energy school laws modeled after those of the more progressive eastern States.¹⁷ The State Superintendent complained in his report for 1867 that in those counties in which the southern sympathizers predominated, the people were either wholly negligent or bitterly opposed to their public school right. Three classes of opposers were enumerated;¹⁸ those who believed that the public schools tended to foster infidelity, those who believed that the State, the county or a municipal body had no right to tax for educational purposes, and those who regarded as unnecessary any education beyond reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. In March of the year 1866, four months after the constitution of 1865 had gone into effect, of the thirty-four Negro schools¹⁹ in the State only two were situated in counties in which the southern element predominated. Thus we

¹³ *7th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1873, p. 281.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

¹⁵ *Journal of Education*, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 5, St. Louis, 1869.

¹⁶ *Report of Commissioner of Education*, 1870, p. 202.

¹⁷ N. H. Parker, *Missouri as it is in 1865*, p. 53. *Op. cit.*

¹⁸ *Report of Commissioner of Ed.*, 1871, p. 260.

¹⁹ Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

see that the attitude toward public schools in general was reflected upon the Negro schools.

The school laws themselves, which seem to have been adequate to provide equal school rights for all the children in the State, were easily evaded when the officials of a community were hostile to them. In his first annual report,²⁰ State Superintendent Parker called attention to the following facts: No remedy was provided in case the township board refused to comply with the statutes. There was no remedy in case the local board of directors refused to hire teachers for the school when the requisite number of pupils were in the district. In this manner, he reported, the Negro children in many districts were deprived of an opportunity to attend school. Even where there was no apparent hostility to the statutes and to the education of the Negroes there was a failure to make the requisite enumeration of the Negro children in many townships and consequently many children were by the very law itself deprived of the benefits of the State school fund. He pointed out that in the year 1867 many would thus be deprived, since the law regulating the apportionment of the State school fund, compelled the apportionment to be made on the basis of the enumeration which had already been made, and which in many cases did not include the Negro children. The law concerning the establishment of Negro schools was abused here and there throughout the entire period. As late as 1876 the State Superintendent complained²¹ that in many cases through ignorance of the law and in other cases through willful disobedience of the law, schools for the Negroes had not been established. In the first case, he reported that merely explaining the law had the desired effect and in the other case it was necessary to call the assistance of county clerks and of grand juries.

During this period there was a growing sentiment in favor of public schools. This is shown by the reports which came from the various counties to the State Superintend-

²⁰ *1st Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools of Missouri*, 1867, p. 9.

²¹ *27th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools of Mo.*, 1877, p. 17.

ent's office, and also by the increase in the number of children enumerated and by the increasing number of schools. In 1870,²² the county superintendents reported a great deal of opposition and indifference to the schools especially on the part of the tax-payers. In 1872 a majority of the county superintendents were able to report²³ a growing sentiment in favor of public education. They could then say that the enemies of this institution were becoming its friends. The State Superintendent²⁴ reported in 1874 that in the four years of his administration there had been a steady growth in the popularity of the public school system. We can better appreciate the progress made in this period when we remember that prior to the Civil War, the public school in Missouri had been considered a pauper's school. The Constitution²⁵ of 1820 had provided: "One or more schools shall be established in each county township as soon as practicable and necessary where the poor shall be taught gratis." The attendance also showed a healthy growth. In 1870²⁶ there were 280,473 pupils attending 7,547 public schools in the State. There were 389,956 pupils attending these schools in 1872. In 1874 the enumeration showed that there were 708,354 children of school age in the State.

As sentiment in favor of the public school grew, the willingness to enumerate and to provide schools for the Negro children also increased. In 1867 the number of Negro children enumerated was 33,619. This was an increase of 13,709 over the previous year. Fifty-six public schools were provided for these children. In 1869 forty counties reported 12,871 Negro children and 80 schoolhouses which were devoted to their use. The average school term was four and one-third months. In 1871 the enumeration had increased to 37,173, and the number of public schools to 212. These schools had an enrollment of 4,358 pupils. In

²² *5th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools of Mo.*, 1871, p. 125-245.

²³ *7th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools of Mo.*, 1873, pp. 233-300.

²⁴ *9th Annual Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1875, p. 23.

²⁵ *Missouri State Constitution of 1840*, Art. 6.

²⁶ *5th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1871, p. 6.

1873²⁷ the enumeration had increased to 38,234 and the number of schools to 252.

The work of the public school for the education of the Negro was supplemented by two other classes of schools. In 1867²⁸ the State Superintendent called attention to three classes of schools which were educating the Negroes in the State. In the first place there were those supported by benevolent societies in other States. These schools were generally supplied with white teachers and were doing good work. There were then the private or subscription schools, which were supported by the tuition of the pupils and in many cases these were taught by colored teachers of inferior qualifications. Finally there were the public schools as contemplated by the law. A few such schools had been established in the large towns and cities.

In 1869²⁹ it was estimated that there were in the State 34,000 Negro children of educable age. For their accommodation there were 59 Negro public schools with an average attendance of 2,000. This report also states that the majority of these schools were taught in churches and cabins with walls admirably adapted for ventilation and for admission of copious shower baths of rain. The same year Colonel Seely, Agent for the Freedman's Bureau in Missouri, reported 114 schools for the freedmen. Most of these were public schools and the attendance was 6,240. The ninth census for 1870, reported that 9,080 Negro children were attending school in Missouri. Thus we see that the public schools of this period were greatly aided by mission and private schools.

In 1868 the legislature enacted a law³⁰ which gave the State Superintendent the authority to assume the powers of the school board for establishing and maintaining a school for Negro children when the township, city, or village, neglected to establish and to maintain such a school in accord-

²⁷ *8th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1874, p. 5.

²⁸ *2nd Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1868, p. 10.

²⁹ *Journal of Education*, 1869, Vol. I, p. 181.

³⁰ *Laws of State of Mo.*, Adj. Sess., 24th Assembly, p. 170.

ance with the law. The same year the school law was amended³¹ so as to require the township, the city or the incorporated village to establish one or more schools for Negro children when there was more than fifteen children in the jurisdiction. A Negro school could be closed for six months when the attendance for any month dropped below ten.

There is evidence to show that the State Superintendent used his power to establish Negro schools when the local authorities neglected this task. In 1873, he reported:³² "I have established between 50 and 60 Negro schools in the State without resorting to the expedient of a tax as indicated and authorized by law." In 1875 he reported: "I have levied taxes for Negro schools in three instances. The medicine is good and effective and I trust it will be administered in every similar case in the State until the Negroes enjoy schools equally good in every way as the white schools." Thus we see that by the Law of 1868 the State Superintendent had the power to remedy conditions as far as the Negroes were concerned but there was no evidence to show that he used this power prior to 1872, although there are reports of violations of the law. In 1874 there was passed a law³³ which made a school official subject to a fine of not less than fifty or more than five hundred dollars, for the persistent neglect or refusal to perform any duty or duties pertaining to his office. In view of this and the offensiveness of the results threatened in the civil rights bill,³⁴ the State Superintendent³⁵ was astonished at the number of delinquencies and persistent evasions of the law.

The Commissioner of Education was able to report in 1870: "This State has a larger proportion of schools³⁶ for Negro children than any former slave State. Opposition

³¹ See page 140 of this work.

³² *Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1874, p. 44.

³³ *Laws of State of Mo.*, Adj. Sess., 27th Assemb., p. 168.

³⁴ *A Bill to establish mixed schools.*

³⁵ *9th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1875.

³⁶ *Report of Com. of Ed.*, 1870, p. 202.

to the education of the Negroes is rapidly disappearing. Their rapid improvement and good conduct help to disarm prejudice." Among the methods of evading the law the following were reported; the failure to enumerate the Negro children, the complaints of a lack of funds, and the plea of an inability to secure teachers. In 1875 the State Superintendent reported³⁷ that the citizens of Calloway County, the most strongly southern county in the State during the Civil War, were evincing the greatest readiness to provide good schools for their large Negro population. This, he believed, augured well for the future of the Negro schools of the State, since it indicated a growing kindly disposition of the southern element of the State towards them. How great was the change in sentiment can be readily seen by contrasting this report with those of the county superintendent for 1866 and 1867. In 1866 the Superintendent of Calloway reported³⁸ much objection to public schools in that county on account of the impartial application to children of all races and colors. The only Negro school in the county had been established under very discouraging circumstances at Fulton. In many rural districts there were not enough children to permit the establishment of a school and in other districts the existing opposition to Negro schools made their establishment impossible. The next year it was reported³⁹ that the white schools were better fitted for pigs than for children and that there was no interest at all in the education of Negro children.

Another factor which effected the development of the Negro school system was the sparseness of the Negro population. In many districts and even in some counties there were not enough Negro children to form a school. In 1871, reports⁴⁰ were received from 109 of the 115 counties of the State. Thirty-nine of the 109 counties did not report a single school district with the required number of Negro

³⁷ 26th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools, 1876, p. 12.

³⁸ Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools, 1867, p. 28.

³⁹ Ibid., 1868, p. 59.

⁴⁰ 6th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools, 1872, p. 257.

children to establish a school. The other seventy counties reported 395 school districts having twenty or more Negro children of school age. The same counties also reported 158 schools for these children. In their annual letters for 1872 twenty-one county superintendents called attention to the fact that the Negro population was so distributed over the counties that it was impossible to provide schools for them according to the law. Three of these superintendents asked that the law might be so amended as to provide for Negro children in the sparsely settled districts, and one superintendent advocated⁴¹ that in districts in which there were too few Negro children to form separate schools, they should be admitted to the white schools.

That same year the State Superintendent reported⁴² that in several cases in which no schools were provided because of the small number of pupils, that their parents had asked why their children could not enter the white schools since there was no direct law prohibiting it. The next year⁴³ the Negro children in several districts did enter the white schools with the tacit consent of the white population. When the State Superintendent was asked whether or not they could be ejected⁴⁴ he replied that there was no law to that effect. At this time the enactment of a civil rights bill was being agitated in the State. This bill⁴⁵ provided that the public schools of the State should be open to all children regardless of color. When the civil rights bill was defeated in 1874, there was passed another bill which aimed to relieve the situation in the sparsely settled districts.

In 1869 the legislature had passed a law⁴⁶ permitting two or more districts, each of which had less than fifteen Negro population but which when taken together had more than that number, to establish a union school for those chil-

⁴¹ E. H. Davis, *Clark County*. See *7th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1872, p. 246.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁴³ *8th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1873, p. 38.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *9th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1875, p. 18.

⁴⁶ *Laws of State of Missouri*, 25th Gen. Ass., 1869, p. 86.

dren. This law on account of its lack of force did not accomplish much good. In 1874 the law⁴⁷ was amended in such a way as to make it obligatory for two or more districts, each of which had too few Negro children, to form a school to unite to form a union school. It was also ordered that all taxable property in a township in which a Negro school was situated should be taxed for its support.

In 1875 each district supported its own school⁴⁸ for white children, while the whole township in which a Negro school was situated was taxed for its support. No district in the State could be compelled by the law to maintain a school for its white children, but if there were more than fifteen Negro children in the district, the law compelled the local authorities to establish a school for them. If they failed to do so, the law directed the State Superintendent to establish and to levy taxes for the support of Negro schools in such communities. In those districts in which there were too few Negro children to form a separate school, union schools were to be established. The last mentioned law, however, was passed too late to have much effect upon the period under discussion. School officials who refused to perform the duties of their office could be fined⁴⁹ not less than fifty nor more than five hundred dollars.

In the larger centers of the State where there was a large Negro population the necessity of establishing schools⁵⁰ for the Negroes seems to have been better realized. Thirty-nine out of seventy-three towns and villages incorporated under the special Act for Towns and Villages, reported⁵¹ a sufficient population for a Negro school. There were 19,879 white and 3,609 Negro pupils enrolled in the public schools of these thirty-nine towns and villages. The

⁴⁷ *Laws of State of Missouri*, Reg. Session, 25th Gen. Assemb., p. 164.

⁴⁸ *26th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1876, p. 12.

⁴⁹ *27th Gen. Assemb.*, Adj. Sess., p. 168.

⁵⁰ *7th Ann. Report of Gen. Ass. Adj. Sess.*, p. 233. By reading the annual letters of the county superintendents the fact is brought out that most of the colored schools of that period were in the towns and cities. It was in the rural districts that the Negro suffered most.

⁵¹ *8th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1874, p. 165-219.

length of the school term was the same in the white and the Negro schools in a number of cases; but the average length was lower in the Negro schools than in the white schools. The average length of the white school was thirty-four weeks and the average length of the Negro school term was twenty-eight weeks. The average expense a pupil in these schools was 8.1 cents a day for each white pupil and 7.8 cents a day for each Negro pupil. The average attendance in the Negro schools was below that in the white schools. The average attendance of the white schools was 61.89 per cent and that of the Negro schools was 51.86 per cent of the enrollment.

The lower attendance of the Negro children may be accounted for as Asa Martin accounts for a similar condition in Kansas City.⁵² In this city from 1885 to 1913 a larger per cent of the Negro than of the white children of school age attended the public schools, but the average attendance of the white children enrolled was above that of the Negro children. This he accounted for by the poverty of the Negro population. Since the Negroes were poorer as a whole than the whites, they were more poorly housed and clothed. Consequently the Negro children were more susceptible to sickness and to the disagreeable effects of inclement weather. On this account they were oftener absent from school than the white children.

The report of the State Superintendent of Schools for the year 1874 contains reports⁵³ from thirty-five of the urban communities which were organized under the act for cities, towns and villages. Five of these towns reported that they did not have any Negro children of school age. The thirty towns reported 4,701 Negro children, 2,379 of whom were enrolled in the public schools. Salisbury was the only town having more than sixteen Negro children for whom no school was maintained, while Bolivar and Augusta, which had in the first case eleven and in the second

⁵² Asa E. Martin, *Our Negro Population*, p. 165.

⁵³ 9th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools, p. 90 to 136.

four Negro children of school age, reported respectively five and three Negro children in the public schools.

The largest cities in the State were St. Joseph, Kansas City and St. Louis. These cities provided public schools for the freedmen soon after the war. St. Joseph opened a school⁵⁴ with seventy seats for Negro children in 1866. In 1871 the city had for Negro children, two schools,⁵⁵ each of which was provided with one teacher. One of these schools had an enrollment of 96 pupils and the other 94. In 1874 this city enumerated⁵⁶ 651 Negro children of school age, 386 of whom were enrolled in the two public schools. The number of teachers had increased from two to four.

The first Negro public school⁵⁷ in Kansas City was reported in 1867. The enumeration⁵⁸ for 1873 was 408 Negro children of school age. The average attendance was 165. The length of the school term was forty weeks. The amount spent on each pupil was 7.5 cents a day in the Negro school and 8.6 in the white school. The average salary paid to male teachers was \$68.33 in the Negro school and \$112.50 in the white schools. The average salary paid to female teachers was \$45 in the Negro school and \$65 in the white schools. In 1874 the number of Negro children enumerated was 885.⁵⁹ There was one Negro school in the city for their use which had 356 pupils and five teachers.

In St. Louis, the largest city in the State, there was a steady growth of the Negro school system. The State Legislature granted this city the power to establish separate schools⁶⁰ for Negro children in 1865. The next year Ira Divoll, the City Superintendent, established three schools for Negro children.⁶¹ One was in the northern, one in the central and another in the southern part of the city.

⁵⁴ *Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1867, p. 10.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 1872, p. 51.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1875, p. 84.

⁵⁷ *2nd Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1868, p. 94.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 1874, p. 185.

⁵⁹ *Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1875, p. 77.

⁶⁰ *Reg. Session, 28th Gen. Assembly*, p. 349.

⁶¹ *Ency. of History of St. Louis*, Vol. IV, p. 2076.

In 1868 there were five Negro schools⁶² in the city with a total enrollment of 924 pupils. Three of these schools held night sessions which ran from the first Monday in October of the year 1867 to the fifth of February, 1868. Twelve teachers were employed in these schools. In 1871 a sixth Negro school⁶³ was added and school No. 3 was improved to accommodate five hundred pupils. There were sixteen teachers and seventeen school rooms. The expenses for the year amounted to \$11,787.80.⁶⁴

The next year it was reported⁶⁵ that good buildings had been built for the Negro schools. A gain of eight pupils over the number enrolled the previous year was reported. This small gain was not charged to indifference, but to a decrease in the Negro population. In 1875 there were twelve Negro schools in the city. The legislature of that year passed a bill⁶⁶ which permitted the city to establish a Negro high school with a normal department in the old Washington School building and was known from this time on as the Summer High School.

The first teachers of these schools were white, but they were gradually replaced by Negro teachers. The first teacher⁶⁷ of color was appointed largely through the influence of Samuel Crupples, who was a member of the Board of Education of St. Louis and also a regent of Lincoln Institute. He was so impressed with the work done by Lincoln Institute in preparing Negro children that he favored the giving of its graduates a trial in the public schools of that city. The chance to try teachers of color came when the friends of a white teacher, who had been assigned to a Negro school, protested against the assignment. From this time on the white teachers in the Negro schools were gradually replaced by those of color.

⁶² *14th Ann. Report of Bd. of Dir. of St. Louis Pub. Schools*, 1868, pp. 63 and 67.

⁶³ *Report of Commissioner of Education*, 1871, p. 264.

⁶⁴ *Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1876.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 1873, pp. 263 and 268.

⁶⁶ *Report of Commissioner of Education*, 1871.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1871.

Very early in the history of the Negro schools the question of training teachers came up. The white teachers did not care to teach in the Negro schools and it was hard to find trained teachers of color at this date. Ten county superintendents in their annual⁶⁸ letters for 1872 mentioned the difficulties which they experienced in obtaining good teachers for their Negro schools. There was a prejudice on the part⁶⁹ of both the white and the black people of the State against white teachers for Negro schools; and it is reported⁷⁰ that in many cases the white teachers in these schools did not take the interest in the advancement of the people which was taken by the Negro teachers. The positions in the Negro school, moreover, were less desirable than those in the white schools because the financial returns were less in teaching in the Negro schools. In 1873 the cities, towns and villages which reported⁷¹ Negro schools also reported an average salary of \$46.70 per month for male teachers and \$40.00 per month for female teachers. The white schools in the same towns paid an average monthly salary of \$87.72 to male teachers and \$46.64 to female teachers.

The first school⁷² in the State which was devoted to the work of training Negro teachers was Lincoln Institute. This school⁷³ had its origin in a fund of \$6,379 which was contributed by the soldiers of the sixty-second and sixty-fifth United States Negro infantry. These men upon being mustered out of service at the close of the war gave part of their pay to found in Missouri a school where their children might enjoy the blessings of a good education. The school was opened at Jefferson City,⁷⁴ the State Capital, September 17, 1866. Richard Baxter Foster, a New England white man who was educated at Dartmouth College and who had

⁶⁸ *Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1873, p. 233-303.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1876.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 1873, p. 263-268.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1873, pp. 263-268.

⁷² *8th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1874, p. 165.

⁷³ *Report of Commissioner of Education*, 1870, p. 204.

⁷⁴ *44th Ann. Catalog of Lincoln Institute*, p. 6.

served as first lieutenant in the sixty-second United States Negro Infantry, became the first principal of this school.

In his report⁷⁵ to the adjourned session of the Twenty-fifth General Assembly, T. A. Parker, the State Superintendent of Schools, offered as his most important suggestion for the improvement of Negro schools in the State, the establishment of a Normal School for the training of Negro teachers. He gave five reasons why such a school should be supported by the State: first, the number of teachers were insufficient to supply the rapidly increasing demand; second, the character of the teaching in a large proportion of the Negro schools needed elevating as white teachers of high qualifications could usually do better in white schools and Negro teachers of high qualifications could not be found in any great number; third, as Negroes had not, in many vocations, an equal opportunity with white people, and as teaching is one of the most respectful and useful vocations open to them, they should be encouraged to engage in it; fourth, justice demanded it, for as a large part of the wealth of Missouri had been produced by the unrequited labor of slaves, it was but a small return that the State should give to their children, now free, the largest privileges of education; and fifth, the State gave no funds to institutions of learning above the grade of common schools, which were practically, if not by force of law, limited to white pupils. Equality of treatment demanded that something be appropriated for a school of higher learning to which the people of color could have access. If such a school could not be established at the time, he advised that a sum of \$5,000 per year should be given to the normal department of Lincoln Institute to aid in the training of Negro teachers.

Acting on this advice, the legislature passed in 1870 a bill⁷⁶ granting the normal department of Lincoln Institute an annual sum of \$5,000 for the training of teachers. In his reports for 1872 and 1873 the State Superintendent commented on the excellent work which this school was doing.

⁷⁵ *4th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1870, p. 36.

⁷⁶ *Adj. Session 25th Gen. Assembly*, 1870, p. 136.

But as this school was hampered by debt and could not train the number of teachers needed, he advocated that the State should take a greater interest in the school or better still, the State should take the school over entirely and make it into a normal school for Negro teachers. The annual reports of the State Superintendents from this time up to 1879, when the school was finally given over to the State, contained accounts of the excellent work which this school was doing in the training of teachers and he recommended from year to year that the State should give it more financial aid.

By the year 1875 the Negro public school system of Missouri was well established. Elementary schools had been started in all parts of the State. A high school for Negroes had been established in St. Louis and the first steps had been taken towards the establishment of a Negro State normal school. Popular opinion had crystallized in favor of separate schools for Negro children taught by teachers of color. The progress of the Negro schools had been somewhat retarded by a prejudice against public schools in general and to a greater extent by a prejudice against the education of Negroes. Towards the end of the period there was evidence to show that this prejudice was dying out. Much good legislation had been passed with the idea of giving the Negro children the same educational advantages as were held by the white children of the State. The Negro school system of this period was in advance of the corresponding systems in the other States which had recently held slaves.⁷⁷ The report of the Commissioner of Education for 1872, shows that there were no public schools for the education of the Negro in Georgia, Alabama, Delaware, Kentucky, and Maryland. Ninety per cent of the Negro school population of Tennessee was without the benefit of public schools. Although the Negro public schools of Louisiana and West Virginia were established before

⁷⁷ This fact can be verified by studying abstracts from the State Superintendents' reports for this period. These abstracts are found in the Reports of the Commissioner of Education for this period.

those of Missouri, the greater illiteracy of their population in 1870 and 1880 show that these schools were not as efficient as those in Missouri.

THE CRITICAL PERIOD, 1875 TO 1885

The year 1875 marked an epoch in Negro education in Missouri. That year a new State constitution was adopted. This meant the beginning of a critical period in the school history of the State. In order to understand the educational trend of this period it is necessary to consider the political history of this and the preceding period. During the Civil War the State had been almost equally divided between the Union and the Confederate sympathizers; but the Union forces held control of the government. At the close of the war and while the feeling between the two factions was still very bitter, there were enacted very harsh laws⁷⁸ by which those who had sided with the South were not only disfranchised, but were also deprived of the right to practice law, to preach, or to teach. As the intense bitterness of the war died out there was strong agitation to restore the right of suffrage to the disfranchised citizens. In 1870⁷⁹ the Liberal Republicans gained control of the State with the result that there was passed the next year a law removing the restriction placed upon the southern element. In 1872 the Liberal Republicans and the Democrats united to defeat the Radical Republicans, and at the next election which took place in 1874 the Democratic Party came into full power.

One of the first acts of the new administration was to call a constitutional convention which drew up a new State constitution which was ratified by the people in 1875. With the return to power of a party⁸⁰ which strongly favored local self-government, and which was supported to a great extent by those who but a few years before had been reported to have been opposed to the extension of their public school rights, it is not surprising that the progress of the

⁷⁸ *Ann. Cyclopedias* for 1870-75. Art. Missouri.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 1871, p. 516.

⁸⁰ *9th Ann. Report Supt. of Schools*, 1874, p. 7.

public school system was for a time checked. In many districts the people had accepted the public schools but they had not become thoroughly reconciled to the system.

In 1870 the local district school boards⁸¹ were subordinate to the township boards of education. The clerk of the township board was both treasurer and recording secretary of all the school districts within his township. He was responsible to the county school superintendent and he made statistical reports to him as well as to the county clerks. The county school superintendents and the county clerks were in turn responsible to the State Superintendent of Schools. In 1874 the legislature⁸² so changed the old statutes as to do away with county and township supervision. The office of county superintendent was abolished and each district became independent. Even the district board was deprived of some of its power and the right which it had to extend the school term and to levy money for new buildings was vested in the voters of the district. The new State constitution sanctioned tendency toward decentralization by providing⁸³ that the right of the people to local self-government should not be impaired.

Although the old constitution was very objectionable to a large number of the citizens of the State, nevertheless, it contained some good school legislation and fortunately much of this was embodied in the new constitution. The Constitution of 1865 had provided⁸⁴ that "separate schools may be established for children of African descent." The new constitution provided that "separate free public schools shall be established for the education of children of African descent." The legal school age provided by the old constitution was from five to twenty-one but the legal school age provided by the new constitution was from six to twenty.

The decentralization of the public school system caused many abuses to spring up. Statistics became harder and

⁸¹ *9th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, p. 6.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Art. II, Sec. 3.

⁸⁴ Art. XI, Sec. 3.

harder to collect, and school practice less and less uniform in the different parts of the State. The school law was disregarded to such an extent as to cause a decrease in the school enumeration and enrollment in spite of the fact that the population was steadily increasing. In 1875 the enumeration⁸⁵ showed 720,186 children of school age, 394,780 of whom were enrolled in the public schools. In 1877 the enumeration had shrunk to 553,278 and the enrollment to 364,189. From this time on there was a steady growth until 1880 when the enumeration surpassed that of 1875.

The Negro public schools of the State also suffered a decline⁸⁶ in this period. In 1875 there was a Negro school population of 41,916 and an enrollment of 14,832. In 1877 the reported enumeration was 32,411 and the enrollment was 14,505. The enumeration did not equal that of 1875 until 1885, but the enrollment of 1878 surpassed that of 1875 by 6,376. The enrollment of 1877 was only 328 smaller than the enrollment of 1875. Thus, it would appear that while there was a failure in some districts to enumerate their children of color, that in those districts in which they were enumerated an increasing percentage of the children of color attended the public schools.

As has been pointed out before, the emancipators⁸⁷ of the Negro, in attempting to provide equal school rights for the Negro child, made more stringent laws for the enforcement of his school rights than were made for the enforcement of the school rights of the white child. The State Superintendent was empowered to enter districts which did not provide schools for Negro children according to the law, and to establish schools for these children, and to levy taxes for the maintenance of the schools. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the State Superintendent was called upon a number of times in this period to exercise his power.

This official reported⁸⁸ in 1878 that the law in relation to

⁸⁵ *Report of Commissioners of Education*, 1880, p. 184.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ See page 26.

⁸⁸ *Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1877, p. 18.

the public schools for Negro children had been repeatedly evaded and violated during the two preceding years, and that a wicked and malicious advantage was being taken of the ignorance and the weakness of the Negro to shield the law-breaker who was using the money appropriated by the law for the education of the Negro youth. The method of evasion was fully described. In the first place, there was a failure to enumerate a sufficient number of Negroes of school age before the convening of the annual school meeting. After the meeting, when the directors were appealed to, they required the production of evidence that there was a sufficient number and then required time to look into the evidence which took a month or more. They would then inform the Negroes that it was too late to do anything that year, that they should have attended to the matter before the annual school meeting and that they must attend to it in time the following year. In many cases while the money due the Negroes was being used for other purposes, they were promised schools for the next year which the directors did not intend to give them. Sometimes the directors promised well and were then unable to find teachers or they disagreed with the Negroes concerning the site of the school. The year would thus elapse and a new board knowing nothing of the promises of the old board would be elected. The same course would then be followed sometimes with a little variation to suit the emergency. Finally the case would be brought to the State Superintendent and after an annoying and repeated correspondence to collect the facts in the case and to explain the law, the officers were induced to comply with the law by threats of its execution. In counties at a distance from the capital this threat was frequently of no avail because the Negroes were either induced to drop the matter by promises of future fulfillment, were unwilling to proceed to law, or lacked intelligent leadership.

The next year the State Superintendent complained that the demand upon this functionary to establish Negro schools in districts which neglected to fulfill the law required an undue amount of his time. The legislature which

met that year, therefore, removed from the State Superintendent the responsibility of enforcing this law. But it provided⁸⁹ that any school district which neglected to establish a Negro school or schools according to the law should be deprived of any portion of the State school funds for that year. This was a severe punishment in a State having as large a school fund as Missouri has.⁹⁰

By the year 1885 the public school system of Missouri was on a firm basis. The right of every child in the State to the benefits of a free public school education had been established. The Negro public schools were prosperous. The Negro school population⁹¹ had increased to 44,215 and the percentage of the enumerated actually enrolled in the public schools had increased from forty-two per cent in 1877 to sixty-three per cent in 1885.

THE PERIOD OF GROWTH, 1885 TO 1915

A few minor changes have been made in the State statutory law since 1885. Prior to 1889 not only the district but the whole township in which a Negro school was located, was taxed for the support of this school. In 1889 the law⁹² was so revised as to throw the entire burden of support upon the district in which the school is located. In the same year, the statute which gave Negro adults the right to attend the public schools was abrogated.

The last revision of the law relating to Negro public schools was made in 1909. By the present law⁹³ the boards of directors in districts having fifteen or more Negro children of school age are required to establish and maintain

⁸⁹ *Rev. Statutes of Mo. 1879*, Vol. II, p. 1861.

⁹⁰ In this period a very noteworthy step was taken by the Negro teachers. In 1878 they organized a State teachers' association. In that year its meeting was held in Columbia, Missouri, and a number of professors in the State University took an active part. The next year the Association met in Jefferson City. Since that time, the meeting of the Association has become an annual affair.

⁹¹ DuBois, *Negro Common School*, p. 61.

⁹² *Rev. Statutes of Mo.*, 1889, p. 2271.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 1909, p. 790.

schools for these children which shall have the same length of term and shall enjoy the same privileges as are enjoyed by the white schools of the same grade in the district. The indebtedness incurred by the board of directors in providing suitable buildings, hiring teachers, and maintaining the school shall be paid out of the appropriate funds of the district. If the average daily attendance for any month falls below eight, the school can be closed for a period not to exceed six months. If there are adjoining districts in either or both of which there are less than twenty-five Negro children of school age, a joint Negro school may be established in either of the districts. The expense of maintaining the school is borne by the districts which established it in proportion to the number of Negro children enumerated in each. The control of the school is vested in the board of directors of the district in which the school is located.

When the number of Negro children residing in a district is less than fifteen as shown by the last enumeration, these children have the right of attending any school for Negro children in the county for the same length of time as school is maintained in their own district. Their tuition is paid by the district in which they reside. When the directors of a district neglect to establish a Negro school according to the law, the district is deprived of any part of the State school funds for that year.

From 1885 to 1890 the Negro schools of Missouri steadily grew. In 1890, 70.8 per cent of the school population⁹⁴ was enrolled in the schools. This marked the high water mark in the per cent of enrollment. From this date to 1900 the per cent of the school population enrolled in the public school decreased. In 1899 only 55.05 per cent of the school population was enrolled in the public schools. The school population, however, increased from 44,214 in 1885 to 54,600 in 1899. In 1900 there were 472 Negro schools with 769 school rooms with 804 Negro teachers employed. The Negroes⁹⁵ of the State received about \$475,000 as their share

⁹⁴ DuBois, *Negro Common School*, p. 61.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

of the State school fund, between a third and a half of the money appropriated for the support of their schools coming from the white tax payers. As the result of this good school system, Missouri stood last among the sixteen ex-slave States in illiteracy in 1890.

Since 1900 the rural Negro population has been decreasing and city population has been steadily increasing. Lured by the prospect of better wages, shorter hours, and better educational advantages for his family, the rural Negro has migrated just as his white brother⁹⁶ has to the large cities. The Negro population of the small towns is also decreasing. The populations of Kansas City and of St. Louis are being swelled by the Negro from the farm and from the small town. The problem of Negro education, therefore, is largely a city problem. In 1910 the Negro school population was 42,764. Of this population 33,465⁹⁷ dwelt in cities and only 9,299 dwelt in the rural districts. The enrollment showed that of the 29,562 pupils who were attending school, 21,694 were enrolled in the city schools and only 7,868 in the rural schools.

In 1915 St. Louis had a Negro school population of 7,233 and an enrollment of 5,811. Nine grade schools and a high school were maintained by the city to accommodate these children.⁹⁸ In 1916 a Negro industrial⁹⁹ school was opened for delinquent youth, and \$40,000 was appropriated to build two cottages on the city farms at Bellefontaine for delinquent Negro children. The Negro schools are modern and well equipped. Kindergarten classes are provided, manual training courses are open to the boys and domestic science classes are provided for the girls. In the year of 1915-16 three elementary night schools were in session with an enrollment of 759.

The Negro school population of Kansas City is also well provided for. In 1880 this city had a Negro school popula-

⁹⁶ *Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1910, p. 69.

⁹⁷ *Report St. Louis Board of Education*, 1916, p. 302.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

tion of 2,035¹⁰⁰ and there was an enrollment of 623 or of 30.5 per cent of the school population. In 1911 the Negro school population was 6,500 and the number of pupils enrolled reached 3,251. 54.1 per cent of the Negro school population and 47 per cent of the white school population were enrolled in the public schools. The school property¹⁰¹ devoted to the use of the Negroes was valued at \$465,565 and the value of the property devoted to the white people was \$5,792,468. The Negro population which comprised 9.7 per cent of the total population had public school property valued at 7.4 of the total. The average cost for each white pupil enrolled was \$42.20 a year and the average cost for each Negro child was \$35.02. In 1910-11, there were 86 Negro teachers in the system. There was one teacher for every 37 children enrolled in the white schools and one teacher for every 41 Negro pupils. In the same year the Negro night schools had an enrollment of 472. In 1915 there were ten elementary and one high school¹⁰² devoted to the use of the Negroes. The Negro school population had increased to 7,637 and the enrollment was 3,654.

In 1915 there were fifteen colored schools in the State doing work of a high school grade. Two of these, Sumner High School of St. Louis and Lincoln High School of Kansas City are first class high schools.¹⁰³ The Negro high schools of Hannibal and of Springfield are ranked second class and the high schools of Chillicothe and St. Joseph are rated third class. The other nine high schools are unclassified.

Until the opening of the new Dunbar High School in Washington, District of Columbia, in 1916 the Sumner High School was considered the finest Negro high school in the country. This school was established in 1875 and had only twenty pupils¹⁰⁴ in 1885. By the year 1900 the enroll-

¹⁰⁰ Martin, *op. cit.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*

¹⁰² *Ann. Report Board of Ed. of Kansas City*, 1915, p. 123.

¹⁰³ *Report of Supt. Public Schools*, 1916, p. 69.

¹⁰⁴ *Report of The Board of Education of St. Louis*, 1908, p. 234.

ment had increased to 250. In 1907 the city appropriated \$297,827¹⁰⁵ for the building of the new Sumner High School, a magnificent building. It is three stories high and is well equipped. It contains a large auditorium, and gymnasiums on the top floor. On the second floor are laboratories, for the teaching of chemistry, physics, physiology, and biology. Courses for girls are given in domestic science and in domestic art. The school also maintains a commercial department. In the basement there are shops in which the boys are taught carpentry, cabinet making, machinery, and blacksmithing. A swimming pool for the boys is also located in the basement. There is provided a cafeteria at which the children can purchase at a small cost their noonday meal. It is possible for the pupil to take any one of the several courses. He may prepare himself to enter a first-class college, to enter the business world, or to become an artisan.

Sumner High School also maintains¹⁰⁶ a normal training course for its girl graduates. The Cottage Avenue graded school is under the supervision of the High School principal and it serves as an observation school for those taking normal work. This high school also maintains an evening school. In 1915-16 the enrollment was 457. The Negroes of St. Louis are very proud of their high school, and it is well patronized. In 1915-16 the enrollment¹⁰⁷ was 811 and in 1916-17 it passed the 1,000 mark. There were employed in this high school in 1915 thirty-five teachers who received an average salary of \$127 a month. The school has a library containing about 2,000 volumes and equipment¹⁰⁸ valued at \$30,000.

The Lincoln High School of Kansas City, although it is not as large or as well equipped as Sumner High School, is nevertheless a good high school. The first Negro high school¹⁰⁹ was opened in the Lincoln Grade School Building. A high school building was erected on Eleventh Street in

¹⁰⁵ *Report of Board of Education of St. Louis*, 1908, p. 235.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 108.

¹⁰⁷ *Report of Public Schools of Mo.*, 1916, p. 290.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Report of Board of Dir. of Schools, Kansas City*, 1911, p. 243.

1890. This building was used as such until the erection of the present high school, the site of which was purchased in 1899 and the new building was opened September 6, 1906. In 1915 this school had an enrollment¹¹⁰ of 462 pupils. Seventeen instructors were employed at the average salary of \$115 a month. Besides the regular high school courses, this school has departments of domestic science and domestic arts for the girls. Vocational courses are open to the boys and a course in military training has recently been opened for the boys. In 1915 the equipment¹¹¹ of the school was valued at \$10,000. The library contained a number of valuable works.

In the development of Negro education in keeping with the policy of establishing high schools the State in 1879 assumed complete control¹¹² of Lincoln Institute. Prior to this date, the legislature had merely given the normal department of this institution \$5,000 annually for the purpose of training teachers. The Thirty-fourth General Assembly established an academic and a college department in the school, and the Thirty-sixth General Assembly established an industrial department. The State has since then dealt very liberally with its Negro normal school. In 1915 the legislature appropriated¹¹³ \$116,600 for the bi-annual period of 1915-1916. This school then had a campus of twenty acres, upon which was situated six modern buildings and a model training school for the use of students preparing to teach. The school also had a farm of sixty acres. The property¹¹⁴ of the school was valued at \$222,202. There were thirty-one teachers employed and the school enrollment was 343. The academic work is divided between a high school course and a two year normal course. Graduates from the normal department obtain life certificates to teach in Missouri. The following trades are taught: domestic science and domestic art, carpentry, wood-turning, machinery and

¹¹⁰ *Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1916, p. 286.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

¹¹² *Ann. Cat. Lincoln Inst.*, 1916, p. 6.

¹¹³ *Laws of Mo.*, 1915, p. 69.

¹¹⁴ *Report of Commissioner of Education*, 1916, p. 586.

blacksmithing. The work which this school has done in preparing teachers for the Negro rural schools of the State cannot be over estimated.

Because of these many efforts in behalf of Negro education, therefore, Missouri stood in 1915 in the lead of the ex-slave States in the provisions which it had made for the education of Negro children. Only the District of Columbia stood ahead of it in the amount of money¹¹⁵ which was invested in public school property for Negroes. The District of Columbia had \$135.30 invested for every Negro child of school age and Missouri had \$50 for each Negro child. Oklahoma and West Virginia ranked next to Missouri, each having \$26.00 invested for every Negro child of school age. Missouri ranked first among the States in the proportion of the total school investment devoted to the education of the Negro child. Missouri had 96 per cent as much invested for each Negro child as was invested for each white child while the District of Columbia had only 74 per cent as much invested in Negro school property¹¹⁶ as it had invested in white school property for every child of school age. If we leave out the District of Columbia, which is not comparable with a State, Missouri stood at the head of the States, in which separate schools were maintained for Negro children, in the annual expenditure for every child of school age. Missouri spent \$12.13 for every Negro child¹¹⁷ of school age enumerated. This was more than was spent by 12 of the southern States for every white child enrolled. Missouri's nearest rivals, Oklahoma and West Virginia, spent \$11.16 and \$10.38 for every Negro child respectively. As the result of her excellent school system, Missouri had, according to the census of 1910, a smaller proportion of her population illiterate¹¹⁸ than did any of the other ex-slave States.

HENRY SULLIVAN WILLIAMS

¹¹⁵ *Negro Year Book*, 1917, pp. 234-241.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 234-240.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Missouri had 174 illiterate out of every one thousand, and Oklahoma and West Virginia had 177 and 203 respectively.